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A N
A D D R E S S

TO THE
PEOPLE of ENGLAND;

SHEWING

The Advantages arising from the frequent

CHANGES of MINISTERS;

WITH AN

A D D R E S S

TO THE

NEXT ADMINISTRATION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and Sold by J. ALMON, opposite
Burlington House, in Piccadilly.

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence]

AC 911.1767.1132

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TO the READER.

Gentle Reader,

IN such times as the present, when any bustle or commotion prevails among the Patriots and Politicians of this happy country, the press is vastly prolific, especially in the pamphlet way, infomuch that mere custom or the fashion of the times were sufficient apology for any fresh production, even for those that prove trifling and fantastic rather than useful or important.

In such a scribbling season we frequently find many an ingenious defence of a bad cause, as well as many a weak defence of a good one; and many authors then appear who are of such eminent impartiality, as to engage

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on

on both sides the same subject, and by a second performance, furnish the unwary or unstable reader with antidotes against any unhappy impressions occasioned by a first or former one.

And in such times the press teems with numerous elaborate productions, tending to interest the populace in the concerns of certain individuals, and which, in fact, are of so little consequence to the bulk of his Majesty's liege subjects, that it would be of more advantage if these pamphlets were conveyed directly from the press to the cheesemongers.

But then we have the satisfaction of some candid, ingenious and impartial writers, who undertake subjects of consequence and importance, and that too at seasonable times, when they may tend to the edification and satisfaction of the reader, and produce the most
happy

happy effects among the people in general.

Among the former class of pamphlets which even this year has produced, every unbiass'd person will reckon the and the * as well as the &c. &c. &c. &c. and among the class of seasonable, useful, necessary and important pieces you will doubtless reckon the book now in your hand, since nobody will deny the necessity of some kind of apology for the present fashion of changing administrations.

No manner of objection therefore can be made to my performance, except from deficiency as to the manner of conducting or treating the subject: But let it be remembered, that I claim

* The author desires his reader to insert what books he pleases in these blanks, and then to suppose he (the author) meant the same.

no other merit, than just throwing out some crude hints, if I should thereby stimulate any of our professed authors to pursue the subject, which indeed is a copious one, I shall reckon myself to have rendered my dear country an important service.

I had some doubt in my mind, concerning which part of this useful, seasonable, and necessary pamphlet should be placed foremost, or first present itself to the readers attention ; but I presume upon having determined that point to satisfaction ; because, to have begun with an address to the *next ministry*, while so *eminent* and *glorious* a one subsists, would have seemed rather rude and abrupt ; so the serious address took its place of course, and may be considered as a kind of preface to the other part.

You may possibly remember, gentle

the reader, I have supposed awhile ago,
 that every body would allow the ne-
 cessity of such an attempt as the present,
i. e. to produce some defence for the late
 court proceedings in the premisses ;
 but I could not possibly mean that such
 proceedings, changes, &c. were really
 bad measures, and therefore wanted
 vindication ; for then I should range
 myself among a certain class of authors
 I have but just now been condemning :
 No, I only meant that numbers of
 good people terrified themselves with
 strange apprehensions from such a
 fluctuating state of government, for
 want of considering the affair in a pro-
 per light ; whereas, a little considera-
 tion would convince any sensible per-
 son that these changes have the most
 happy and salutary tendency, and can-
 not fail of producing innumerable ad-
 vantages to these kingdoms. If I had
 been

been disposed to avail myself of a known disposition and temper of my countrymen, and, like many writers of the present time, to write for profit, popularity, a place, pension, or any other emolument to myself, I should have treated this subject in a quite contrary manner, and proved to demonstration, that nothing but ruin and immediate destruction could ensue upon such measures taking place ; because such kind of writing as that has always been most agreeable to the people, as well as convenient to authors, and any attempt to the contrary is almost sure to meet with disregard, if not contempt. But as I write in a serious, disinterested manner, I intend to prove to the good people of this country, and that in spite of themselves, that their affairs are now in a more promising way than in any prior period of time whatsoever.

The

The Serious Address, &c.

My dear Countrymen,

I Cannot more properly begin this address to you, concerning the many benefits to be expected from a very frequent change of administration, than by congratulating you, as I do most heartily, upon the enjoyment of so able, upright, glorious, and patriotic an administration as the present.

To mention but a small proportion of the virtues of every individual of the present administration, would require more pages than I am about to employ in my whole work ; I shall not attempt therefore any thing of that nature, both because it would be impossible

ble I should do them justice, and because all the world are duly sensible of their excellency already.

But I would beg of you, my dear countrymen, to observe, that unless such a practice of changing for changing's sake had been obtained, we had not now been blessed with the present, almost adorable set of ministers.

And supposing they continue only ten or twelve months, the modern period of any administration, yet is not one year of such an administration superlatively preferable to a prolix and tedious existence of any other set of men whatsoever, nay, possibly, of these very men themselves ; for it seems as true in politics as in other matters, we never adequately value any real good without experiencing the loss or want thereof. Had Mr. P. continued in the administration since
his

his appointment by his late majesty; such is the state of human nature, we should certainly have been by this time weary of him, or at least not have adored him so much; we now and then indeed for a while admire a patriot in place, but we idolize them at all events when out; no man can pretend to any character with the people, without being sometimes in disgrace; neither will they much approve such men if he cannot at other times force himself into court favour and power. Now does not all this necessarily employ frequent alterations? and does not his majesty, (whom God preserve) by the present practice adopt the very politics of the people? Is not vox populi, vox dei? And is it not hence apparent that continually changing hands is the best system of government possible. I hope I have already given some

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proof

proof of my postulatum, both from the particular and general instance I have mentioned.

But some people are so thoughtless in these things, as to say a certain person was more agreeable to them in the house of commons. But how could we expect a man, loaden with infirmities and bandages, to attend the arduous duty of the lower house ; besides crutches and flannels have a much more decent appearance among the lords and the woolpacks, and are, as we may say, something so coincident. Some people indeed go farther, and vindicate the commoner's acceptance of a peerage, upon the notion of his exerting prodigious abilities in the other house, and restoring the *Privy Seal* to that importance and weight which some first lords of the Treasury have de-

deprived it of; and that he will render it not a *sinécure*, but greatly otherwise, while others consider him as a dying swan who will charm us in the upper house with a few fine speeches in his last moments.

However, all my business is to insist upon it, that frequent changes, without any cause visible to the world, are of the utmost advantage, because one of these changes has brought in my lord C—m; and farther, my lord C—m certainly, by now fixing upon a ministry that will not long continue, has laid a fair foundation for future advantages to the people, from future alterations, and these not distant and remote, but the objects of a sure, certain and immediate hope.

How refulgently does lord C——'s character shine, (in certain late negotiations) above that of a noble relation

of his ; the latter (L. T.) it seems had planned a ministry, which, from the interest and importance of its composite members, should be permanent, stable, and, in a manner, indefeasible.

But the former seemingly rejected such plan of a ministry, for the very reasons urged to support it, namely, its probable permanency ; from which may be inferred not only a corroboration of the principle of changing I am labouring to support, but also a plain and resolute condemnation of all monopolies whatsoever.

And, my dear countrymen, what monopoly can affect your liberties more than a monopoly of state employments, for Lord knows how many years, and what could be a more palpable instance of monopoly than that scheme or plan of my lord T——'s. Alas ! alas ! or rather, Oh
grief

grief of griefs ! little do we enjoy now a-days, saving mere sunshine, that is not monopolized, every thing sublunar is subject thereto ; even the benign smiles of our most gracious sovereign are said to be ingross'd, though I hope the contrary.

However, the scheme of government I am defending will, in some measure, prevent the loaves and fishes, and all emoluments of state, being engrossed by any party or family compact whatsoever, as has formerly been the case in this kingdom.

Certain pamphleteers indeed of the current month (August 1766) by way of consolation of our loss of Mr. Pitt, implore us to wait till * lord Chatham has exhibited awhile, &c. But all that

* The defenders of all the late ministry began in the same manner.

is needless, for the very negociation with L. T. while Mr. P. was peer elect, is such a home stroke at permanency, monopoly, &c. as adequately indicates his regard to popularity still; nor do the other defenders of lord C——m mend the matter, by telling us that L. T. and his associates were rejected for incapacity, exceptionable principles, &c. because why should such people be treated with at all, except (upon the notion I have started,) to lay a foundation for popularity, and shewing the world he is not yet indifferent about it.

I own I may here be suspected at least of deviating from my proposed subject; I beg pardon, but a very digression, that any way relates to so favourite a subject as the conduct of Mr. P. will prove rather agreeable than tiresome.

Well,

Well, the main argument I have as yet given in favour of a changeable administration, is our having the late great commoner again in his majesty's service. Another reason I would offer in vindication of such frequent changes is, that the major part of the British senate will, by this means, be initiated into the true secrets of government ; and even our young members become as competent statesmen as the veterans of other courts. Our house of commons will resemble the celebrated Fabian band, every one of them was qualified to be a guide or a leader in his profession. Again, we have a maxim that says, *the wisest may err* ; may they so ? then what a comfortable condition we are in, should we continue long under any such wise erroneous direction ; whereas, in the new fashioned way, we may surely be right sometimes, or
if

if wrong, relief is coming by and by, which may always yield us a degree of consolation; and farther, the frequently changing our men and measures, will not fail of utterly confounding, perplexing, and embarrassing our enemies, and will render their supposed superior cunning of no manner of service to them; whereas, in the old fashioned way, they know our motions and manœuvres as well as we know them ourselves. How did the good people of England complain of this very circumstance, in the tedious, settled and pacific ministry of *Walpole*, between whom and *Fleury* subsisted a perfect harmony and good understanding? They played into each others hands, cajoled their own courts, and all Europe besides. How very joyful we were at the death of one of those ministers, as well as at the trans-

figu-

figuration of the other ; numerous instances indeed might be adduced from history, in confirmation of the people's preferring temporary administrations to tedious and settled ones, and also that the former are more beneficial to the nation.

I observed lately that eminent and accurate writer, that keen statesman, and most profound politician, the North Briton of the present times, among other things which he modestly dictates to the new ministry, &c. insists upon their obtaining a law for triennial parliaments ; but that, even so favourite an affair, would become quite needless, if we can once get the present mode of appointing administrations annually established by authority ; for certainly as much variety of measures might be expected from this circumstance as that of frequent elections, and

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not

not produce so much confusion among the people ; and triennial, or even annual elections, would produce but little comfort, if the old-fashion custom of septennial or quatuor diurnal administrations should return on us, because such long winded ministry could easily sicken the country 'squires of opposition, and procure parliaments to their mind ; and all manner of blessings expected from an alteration in the mode of electing members for parliament, will flow more abundantly from a system of changing the administration.

Some of our modern writers indeed, by their cutting out such quantities of work for the present ministry, seem to allot them an everlasting duration, especially making reasonable allowance for interruptions from lord Chatham's gout. One author enumerates seven capital circumstances that

that require immediate and effectual
 tention ;* now how strongly these au-
 thors and dictators must reason upon
 such things, for in fact a settled ad-
 ministration, who are sure of their
 strength and influence, need not to
 much mind the remonstrances of the
 people as a more temporary one; and
 as new comers are usually tolerably
 complaisant, we may possibly, by an-
 nual ministry's, gain one of those seven
 points per annum, and the whole in
 seven years; whereas the most sanguine
 expectant must allow, at least, twenty
 years for the same acquisition, even
 if the present noble administration
 should continue so long. Farther, the
 practice of mankind in other cases,
 where they understood their interests
 perfectly well, is a corroboration of
 of this principle of changing, &c. ci-

* N. Briton extraordinary, upon the accession of
 the present ministry.

ties, boroughs, parishes, bodies corporate, clubs and assemblies, all see the vast impropriety of their concerns too long in the same hands ; annual alterations, at longest, take place in all these different associations of men for mutual benefit, and they are all excellently well governed. Now our having less prudence in the more weighty affairs of the nation, is owing to some untoward opinions, which have the sanction of long custom ; but in fact shews us to be penny wise and pound foolish.

A farther recommendation of the above practice may be brought from the example of the ancient Romans. Their consular government was their most glorious æra; they were then continually at war, either with remote or with more neighbouring enemies, with both sometimes. Their consuls were their generals, whose commissions expired

pired with the year ; the consequence was, they lost no time, but endeavoured to accomplish their business in the year ; and they were so assiduous, that a triumph at Rome became as much a thing of course as our Lord Mayor's shew every year ; and the thanks of the senate as much expected, as my Lord Mayor expects the thanks of the guild for his good conduct. No other form of government could have raised the fame of the Romans so high ; all their senators were captains, and all their captains, senators ; which occasioned Cineas to tell his master, King Pyrrhus, that he had seen a country of Kings, for that the Roman senates were all such as Pyrrhus himself was in Greece.

Sometimes indeed, when blessed with a *Fabricius*, a *Paulus Emilius*, or a *Scipio*, in consideration of their great
me-

merits, they were again made consuls, and entrusted with the care of the commonwealth ; and no body in this country would grudge the same honours to Lord* his Honour

Mr. or any of the family of for God forbid I should propose any scheme that would prevent extraordinary merit being rewarded ; only I think these interchanges should *generally* take place, because, in fact, no one man could be excellent at all things ; some men are connoisseurs at fighting, at battles and sieges, and vast expeditions, and appear to have no talents any other way ; others are very great in the way of paper war, or negotiating for provinces, states and kingdoms ; can transfer territories from one family to another without striking a stroke, or firing

* I leave these blanks to be filled by the gentle reader, as impartiality is my hobby horse.

a gun that has a ball in it; others have a genius for the extension of trade and commerce, and promoting arts, sciences, agriculture and manufactories. Now should we have a pacific negotiating minister when we ought to be prosecuting a war with vigour, what temporizing, pusillanimous measures will obtain, instead of more spirited ones, to the manifest dishonour of the nation; and vice versa, a minister of a martial disposition continuing long at the helm, if flushed with success, would carry on a war at all events, send out expeditions against towns and islands, that scarcely pay for the bonfires made at home for their conquests; and a minister solely intent upon adorning and improving a country, and upon the notion of cultivating the civil and polite arts, would not be properly attentive to its internal or external de-

de-

fence, and only offer a finer object, as well as opportunity for a perfidious and rapacious enemy to invade, or, at least, terrify and disturb such a country.

Now these inconveniencies, all which have happened at different periods, can no way be obviated so effectually as by the frequent changes I have been recommending.

But suppose it should be objected here, that an administration, being composed of several respectable personages, no such mighty consequences can flow from any individual among them, having a particular *taste* or disposition towards *peace*, *war*, or the other circumstances I have instanced. But I might be justified in slighting this objection as a downright black guard one; since it proceeds upon this *unconstitutional* principle, *that a person in*

a certain responsible department has no right to guide his coadjutors as he thinks proper; a principle! that was (in every body's memory) attended with the most tremendous consequences; a principle! that induced the great commoner to resign, or desert this poor country and leave us in the hands of

But I forbear, as we are now happily emerging out of the pit that principle plunged us into.

But possibly some gentle reader, not yet thoroughly convinced in the premises, may take off his spectacles and say, Why, to be sure, this method of changing, &c. would be a comfortable and seasonable relief from a long, corrupt, and wicked administration; but then we might, sometime or other, be deprived of a virtuous, righteous, and patriotic ministry by the same rule.

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This objection indeed carries more civility on the face of it than the former one, but is a very weak objection notwithstanding.

It is I know very common for writers in the situation I am now in, by the starting the above objection, to come off with saying, there is no good without some evil attending it; no advantage in life, fortune, nature, or any thing indeed, without a comparative disadvantage; but I have no occasion for that evasive way of reasoning, which only shuffles with an objection without removing it; and I still insist, that all manner of benefits arise from my doctrine of changes, without any detriment whatsoever; for such a virtuous, candid, and upright administration as hath just been supposed, will by no means aim at engrossing or monopolizing all the honour of patriotic measures

measures to themselves; but, on the contrary make the first overtures to their cotemporaries or successors to come in for a share of the honour, and thereby initiate them into the pleasures of the employments as well as the care and burthens of the stipends annexed; such a virtuous administration will know how to assume, enjoy and resign the great offices with grace and dignity; and thus we shall only change men without changing any salutary measures, which was the evil supposed in a late objection. I would never, throughout my whole performance, be understood, that an intire change both of men and measures should *always* take place; no, but sometimes one, sometimes the other, and sometimes both. Well, but who is to determine these matters? the K ; no, the people to be sure; they have, time immemorial, been all

lowed to be very shrewd judges in politics, and the most profound casuists of the present age have pronounced them excellent judges *in matters of law*; that is, when *twelve*, or more of them, are gathered together. The propriety of consulting them in the above circumstance therefore is sufficiently evident and conspicuous; nay, do not the people claim indeed the merit of nominating the late Mr. P. to all his appointments? which some writers have made a handle of to abase him for deserting the people and meanly *descending* to a peerage. But farther, did not a southern corporation in this kingdom exert this right in the subjects to appoint who should govern his m— and the nation, by their severe censure, in an address to the throne, when the late D. of C. had presumed to nominate a ministry? But I suppose it quite needless

less to say any thing in support of this prerogative of the people, I am only recommending the application of it. The frequent asserting of any right, privilege, claim or demand, is the most likely method of preserving the same, and a contrary conduct the way to lose it; so that frequent changes are, upon that consideration, unsupported by any other, absolutely requisite.

I cannot help mentioning here a remarkable instance of the exertion of this right; in the change of *men only*, and not measures, some few years ago, it was the universal desire to have Mr. Pitt in the ministry, because of his* or because we would have him there; but then to profess that to be the only motive, would not have answered the purpose, so we clamoured again at the measures then pursuing; nay, we

* Whatever virtues come to your remembrance.

even

even seemed to despair of the common wealth, &c. &c. Well, at last we were gratified, Mr. Pitt got among the ministry and followed their measures, and we followed him : and now huzza'd for Hanover and Germany, which we were execrating just before ; that generous patriot pushed the measures of that ministry beyond their own wishes, as though he would make amends for the delay his opposition had occasioned ; and he likewise exhibited a striking example of English honour and bravery, for he scorned to take a mean advantage of an enemy, and attack them when off their guard, or too weak to resist them ; but began to fight them on their own ground, and where they could best muster up their strength : a generous enemy is a most noble character.

I have dwelt the longer upon this particular instance of changing, because I would recommend *it* as a criterion or sample, when and how to conduct an opposition for one purpose, and when for another, as well as an example of candour in a patriotic concession to the ministry that has been opposed, &c. The want of this candour has often produced most fatal consequences; as for instance, certain gentlemen want to come in, and till they are gratified will oppose measures they know to be right; clog the operations of government, retard or deny the supplies, and do a world of mischief; and sometimes when in, change the scheme purely to make believe they disliked the measures more than the men, or had something else in view besides their own emolument. Now all this is bad, very bad indeed; and I almost wonder
such

such procedure has not ruined the nation; but this is all owing to *long administrations*, which are like old parents keeping their heirs out of their rights. Now the method I have proposed will obviate all this mischief, and these impatient geniuses will have their turn presently, and need not fret themselves and the public with continual and needless oppositions.

But it will be urged here, that such a transitory possession of power, &c. will not be worth striving for or aiming at; yes, by moderate men, tho' not by those who are excessively ambitious, which indeed is so much the better; besides, when the custom is once established, and nothing else expected, it will be much the same as now; and I have not precluded men of very shining abilities being employed over again. It must indeed be confessed

fessed we have had as many changes
 in the present reign as any advocate
 for such things could well desire, and
 yet few or none of the supposed ad-
 vantages have resulted therefrom ; but
 in fact neither any benefit nor any in-
 ference can properly be drawn from
 what has lately happened : as they
 were fortuitous changes, and not made
 upon the principle I have been pro-
 poundng, I look upon them as a kind
 of a prelude to the systematical changes
 that are about to obtain among us :
 but the brevity of late administrations
 has been owing to the setting out upon
 wrong calculations, reckoning without
 the host, and not cutting according to
 their cloth, &c. they have set out upon
 the supposition of the same perma-
 nency as formerly. Now could any one
 of the late (inch of candle) ministry's
 have prophesied their own extinction,

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they

they would certainly have conducted themselves in a different manner.

The last ministry but one in particular undertook schemes and projects that required as many years to mature and bring to perfection, as they were permitted to be months in office: the importance of which projects of theirs did not appear to other people weighty enough to gain them credit for ten or a dozen years continuance in office to ripen them; and the same ministers imprudently disgusting some great personages, * were prematurely dismissed, and their successors, either from not understanding or not approving their plans † immediately set about reversing and repealing them; and to complete their disgrace, somebody or other ‡ set the great commoner against

* In the affair of the Regency bill. † The Stamp and Cyder acts, &c. ‡ Possibly Lord B.

them,

them, who made long speeches, to the effectual condemnation of them and all their measures. But indeed, as I think I have observed before, the wisest of men are deficient in some things, otherwise my lords H. and S. might have considered, that no ministry of our times, or that of our posterity indeed, are likely to continue long in office; and the changes I have been so strenuously recommending may be considered not as a salutary measure that *ought* to take place, but rather as what necessarily and unavoidably *will* obtain in the government of this country. Great Britain is seemingly the natural soil of two opposite parties; whence that comes to pass I leave philosophers to determine, but so it is.

These parties have, time immemorial, been denominated *Whig* and *Tory*: they were each of them in their original or wild state prodigiously noxi-

ous to our constitution, and have alternately produced horrible disorders : however very happily for Great Britain they likewise proved antidotes to each other, and so have alternately saved her likewise; and now, like many other natural poisons, by custom and familiarity, we can bear a dose or portion of either without doing much danger or detriment ; they are either not so rank as formerly, or our constitution is assimilated to them. The Tories are not *now* Jacobites, any more than the Whigs are *now* Republicans. A long humiliation and loss of their object at last, has quite extinguished the high tory party. The very term *Jacobite* is *obliterated* with the person whose name and cause were signified by that term, (and I have not yet heard of any Charlobites) ; and as to the Whigs, their propensity to *republicanism* is also lost for want of use; for since the revolution

tion

tion they have had no occasion to exert such kind of principles; they (the Whigs) having enjoyed in a kind of aristocracy, all the power they could wish for, not under indeed, but rather over our respective monarchs, almost since 1688; to which power of the Whigs those monarchs possibly submitted more easily, from a remote apprehension of danger from the Tories: but now the Tories being no longer dangerous to the crown, or the succession from any foreign attachment, this enormous influence of the Whigs seems at least no longer necessary; and it is become highly reasonable as well politic to reverse the prescription the other party has so long laboured under, and give them an opportunity of testifying their repentance and reformation. The present character of these two respective and reputable parties in England

land is, one is rather more prejudiced in favour of the prerogative than of privilege; the other rather favouring privilege than prerogative; and the aspiring men of each party will now be competitors and rivals for honours, places, and the various emoluments belonging to a court, and that will cause perpetual changes.

Thus, my loving countrymen, you see an agreeable prospect both for yourselves and posterity, enjoying this most excellent state of government I have been describing: here will be a constant emulation in the parties to qualify themselves for your service; and emulation always produces excellence: and having rivals for your favours, you may expect, like a fair lady, to be served with the utmost sincerity, assiduity and devotion. There is no guessing to what political eminence this

this country may arrive from this very circumstance ; certainly to much greater than eye has seen, ear heard, or the heart of any man has as yet conceived.

Some timorous well meaning people, I know, are apprehensive lest such frequent shocks and changes should produce some unfavourable effects upon our excellent constitution ; as if, forsooth, all changes must needs be for the worse. This is indeed a little akin to that obstinate son of orthodoxy in religion that would preclude all reasonable improvement and embellishment ; but as all sublunary things are liable to alteration and susceptible of improvement, we should always avoid such principles as tend to the laying an embargo on the human mind. The changes and alterations I have been considering, will appear to an enquiring person to be analogous

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to a change of diet, air, garments, &c. in the natural body; all which things are frequently prescribed by physicians as conducive to health and vigor; and truly without such mutation the body politic as well as natural would have a dangerous tendency to certain lethargic symptoms, and be in a manner dead while alive.

Many of our statesmen seem to have overlooked the circumstance I have lately been considering, and to have laid their account in keeping their employments as long as was formerly the custom when one party enjoyed an exclusive privilege, if not charter, and the other was under proscription; But those circumstances have now ceased.

Our Great Commoner indeed seems (almost the only person) adequately sensible of these things, and he has accordingly conciliated himself to both parties

parties ; and this verily he might right honourably do, since, as I have just observed, they are both *now* perfectly innocent ; nor do either Whigs or Tories with any harm over our happy constitution in church and state : but certainly each contribute to give spirit and vigor thereto. I cannot conclude without observing and lamenting the ingratitude of both parties to this more extraordinary man, seeing they now seem to vie who shall most abuse him, for in fact both parties are under unspeakable obligations to him ; each of them having obtained his auspices, for what could not have been gained without him. For I would ask, when did one party prevail for a total prohibition of British troops being transported to Germany ? or when did the other party obtain such ample indulgence in that point, as under his wise and spirited

G

conduct ?

conduct? The Tories are said to have gained without him the privilege of making the peace: but then the Whigs have been amply recompensed by the enjoyment of popularity, a circumstance they had many years lamented the want of.

In short, my dear countrymen, the present state of your political affairs is, perhaps, the most prosperous and promising that can possibly be. But if any should imagine the contrary, *even you* may enjoy the consolation that an alteration will soon take place.

Thus have I given a few hints, and those exceeding obvious ones, of the benefits to be expected from the method lately introduced of changing for changings sake; and in hopes of seeing the subject pursued by some abler hand, shall here conclude my serious address to the people, and proceed to
 what

what is indeed of equal importance to us all, namely, my address to the next Ministry concerning our provisions.

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN of the next Administration.

With the most humble submission and deference I have presumed to offer a few thoughts on the grievances of the common people, respecting the price of necessaries, to your candid consideration, and setting aside the vanity which might stimulate an author to dedicate his piece to my Lord

His Honour *and Mr.

with the rest of so respectable an administration; the importance of the subject, and the necessity of immediate redress in the premises, were

* These blanks to be filled up at times, or when a new Ministry are appointed.

sufficient motives for my addressing your honours of the next, rather than their honours of the present ministry, seeing, as times go, their present honours might in all human and political probability be out of commission by the time these sheets came out of the press; and so my projects, for the good of the community, might fall into oblivion for want of a patron; and this present production, which in fact concerns every body, be read by nobody. Besides, by addressing myself to the next ministry, I may reasonably presume upon being read, with some degree of attention, by all those noblemen, gentlemen and others, who have any notion, chance, or expectation of being called to the important offices of state; and allowing these to be *only one half* of the Members of each House of Parliament, that is a considerable

considerable point gained ; for indeed I have long been of opinion, that the public lose the benefit of many an excellent project from their being ushered into the world with a kind of *noverint universi*, instead of, To those whom it may concern.

I did not a little felicitate myself upon the conceit of addressing the next administrators, as it would inevitably prevent what I had to offer, sharing the fate of (my) many indiscreet as well as unfortunate predecessors.

My Lords and gentlemen, the last ministry whom you have the peculiar honour of succeeding, have left such an example as might animate persons of less virtue and ambition than yourselves to do great things for their country ; and you will doubtless, at the appointed

appointed time, leave an *equally* admirable example to your successors; by which means these periodical appointments of ministers will become the greatest of blessings to these nations. But I cannot help adverting to one happy circumstance appertaining to the next ministry, which has not, does not, or cannot properly belong to any other. 'Tis this my Lords: The common people are at present quite disengaged as to a favourite patriot, if popularity is of any estimation, now is an opportunity of laying claim to it; and surely, if we guess from the extraordinary steps some *great* men have taken to obtain it, popularity is one, and not the least of the rewards attendant upon eminent qualifications. I doubt not its having been a discouragement to some eminent enterprising geniusses of the present age, that
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the door to fame and popularity was barred against any pretender thereto; and the merit of every approved measure has been attributed to *one* person, and every miscarriage, blunder or misconduct of that one person, (if he possibly could do wrong) was as constantly imputed to other gentlemen. But that great man, with a generosity and disinterestedness peculiar to himself, has released and emancipated the people; thrown down the bar that obstructed rising merit, and laid the way open for any eminent statesman to acquire what he himself esteemed the greatest of all possessions. To this crisis my Lords, it is your peculiar happiness to succeed: all the world congratulate you upon it, and naturally expect some exhibitions correspondent to your conspicuous abilities, and the felicity of your opportunity. And, my
Lords,

Lords, with all possible submission and humility, let me just observe, that I presume upon doing your Lordships, as well as mankind in general, some small obligation, if by my previous address, &c. I occasion you to consider a while of an important subject, before the confusion, hurry, and variety of business any way perplex your Lordships; and also facilitate your deliberations upon it, by pointing out what has occurred to myself in frequent cogitations upon the subject; so that at last some redress may be obtained in a grievance that has long subsisted, and seems to have puzzled whatever ministers we have lately had; for I am very far from impeaching any of them of the least degree of neglect, respecting the interests of the people. Sundry ingenious and well disposed writers have employed their
pens

pens upon the notorious disproportion between the prices of labour and that of provisions, and the extreme misery of the lower class of people upon that account. But such writers have generally assigned causes inadequate to the effect, and also proposed remedies as inadequate to the obviating the calamity. Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I shall assign quite a different cause; and what is more, shall propose a remedy that will remove the grievance at all events, from whatever cause it may arise.

Some people have assigned a series of unfavourable seasons, which has greatly diminished the usual product of the land in this country. The weather, indeed, is not, to be altered or insured by any human skill; so we must do the best we can to prevent its ill effects; yet this cause is only a com-

H memorative

memorative one, and therefore cannot be much insisted upon. And other persons, who have wrote professedly on the subject, instead of proving a scarcity from bad harvest weather or the like, insist upon it, we have a sufficiency, or plenty of all manner of provisions, and the scarcity is purely artificial, occasioned by Engrossers, Forestallers, and Monopolizers. But this argument has less weight than the other; for certainly plenty would necessarily disappoint engrossing, and not suffer such practice to continue for a long duration. Others have imputed the mischief to exportation, and yet that is limited to certain price; and the very commodity exported has kept more at a medium than those which are not exported. Bread did not fall in price during the prohibition, nor has advanced since the exportation

portation thereof, in any considerable degree. † As none of these circumstances seem the true cause of the calamity complained of, certainly prosecutions and prohibitions could not remove it : beside, if all the above causes had existed together, that is, bad weather, engrossing and exportation, the prodigious encrease of cultivation would have obviated any inconveniences from those circumstances. Yet the fact is, the price is still accumulating ; riots and insurrections this very moment existing ; notwithstanding our improved cultivation and extension of agriculture : and seemingly the more land we enclose and cultivate, the dearer its produce becomes. That our mouths or numbers of people are enormously encreased, is a con-

† The present advance is what is usual at this season, when the hands are busy in harvest.

sequence

sequence that obtrudes itself upon the mind. Upon the bare mention of the above matter of fact, our people multiply so very fast, that 'tis impossible for our cultivation, even with parliamentary encouragement, to keep pace with our population. I should like prodigiously a calculation of our numbers, deduced from the quantity of provisions annually consumed; it would be entertaining and amazing at the same time. But if the usual method of calculation from the number of houses were *now* undertaken, I believe it would confirm my position of encreased population. These particulars are not peculiar to the metropolis; even if you suppose people to devour twice the quantity when in town they did in the country; for, indeed, the complaint is a general one. Well then, my Lords, nothing can be
more

more evident, than the grievance complained of - can no other way be redressed, than by reducing your people to the proportion of provisions which can be produced; since we find it impossible to produce provisions sufficient for the people, without expecting a renewal of the miracles of loaves and fishes.

Some people pretend to argue, that this evil will in time cure itself, without our proceeding to the extremity of wilfully cutting off, or directly or indirectly diminishing the people. These curious argumentators tell you, that the measures taken at the commencement of the last war totally destroyed the French trade, to which the English merchants succeeded, and they consequently gained more money than the war cost the nation. This plenty of specie among individuals kept down
the

the rate of interest ; and, in consequence of that, enhanced the value of lands very considerably.

As these monied men must have some way of realizing their specie, this advance of value of land necessarily advanced the rents, and that as necessarily the price of the productions: this again advances the price of labour, or at least of all manufactures, either by the artificer or the vender, and that circumstance renders it too dear for foreign markets; since other countries, without the above concurrent circumstances, must needs undersell us. This, say they, will lessen your trade; make your commodities a drug, and thereby again reduce the value of land, and in due time render all things exceeding cheap. A very pretty climax indeed! and so these profound politicians would make us believe that our
present

present distress is owing to our riches :
 and also prophecy, that we shall not
 be happy till we become considerably
 poorer than at present. But how can
 any person expect to persuade people,
 that the present miseries of the nation
 is owing to the too great plenty of
 money, when every individual in it
 thinks he has too little ? Some other
 wiseacres are eternally exclaiming a-
 gainst luxury ; and say, that certain
 persons enjoy, consume, or devour
 more than their share ; as if, in fact, a
 moderate bellyfull for all, was the ut-
 most the island could produce, which
 indeed is the very circumstance I would
 prove. But we commonly say there is
 never enough, where none is left ;
 and things can never be prosperous, or
 provisions be cheap, till we have enough
 and to spare. To accomplish which,
 I say, we must diminish our numbers ;
 since

since I have above remarked, we cannot cultivate in proportion as we populate.

Now, my Lords, and Gentlemen, the most obvious method of diminishing a people, is going to war ; and that measure may with the utmost propriety be recommended to the next administration, as well on account of the equivocating conduct of certain foreign powers, as on account of this redundancy of men and money we labour under at present. You may, by a war, at the same time chastise your enemies, and exonerate your country of those redundant and supernumerary articles that occasion the dearness of provisions : a *German war* is a very *specific* for these purposes, and perhaps hardly answers any other purpose. But if any squeamish politician should startle at this professed intention in a war i. e. barely

ly to thin mankind, I would ask him whether such practice has not prevailed in various ages and countries, even since the beginning of the world? Besides, is it any more than amputating members for the preservation of limbs; the utility of which we allow in Surgery, and why not in politicks I wonder; 'tis only analogous to what is daily done in a similar case of distress, short allowance and want of provisions at sea; and how any measure should be justifiable by water, and otherwise by land, I don't perceive. If I were to refer to any antient history for instances of this kind, probably that of the Jews would be as convenient as any to my purpose. How many amputations were performed upon that people in their state of peregrination? I do not reckon by means of war, but by order or command of their own legislators

gislators at different times. 'Tis no matter of wonder, if a people, so remarkably prolific as the Isralites were, should sometimes be streightened for provisions, especially in a strange and uncivilized country ; since we the settled people of England find ourselves so, and are likewise very apt to murmur and raise insurrections on that account.

Now the frequent amputations of the Jews, I mean the civil and domestic ones, could not fail of alleviating, in some measure, the inconvenience of their situation ; and it is remarkable, such amputations generally succeeded some flagrant delinquency of that people, by which means the numbers were diminished, and that chiefly by the deletion of offenders, and for very laudable purposes were answered at once ; so wisely did *their* governors conduct themselves in their administrations.

strations. I know the infidels of our age are often urging these things as exceptions to the character of Moses in particular, who ordered in his administration the massacre, as they phrase it, of several thousands ; but, as a mere human legislator, no more objection lies against Moses, than others for the like circumstance ; and upon the notion of his being divinely commissioned he is still more justifiable : now let the infidel chuse either of these alternatives, his curious objection is mere cavil and without any foundation.

Thus, my Lords and Gentlemen, I hope I have demonstrated, from the frequent practice of mankind in like cases, from motives of national honour, from prudence and necessity, and from the highest of all authority, that you may enter into a war in order to reduce the price of provisions ; But, farther,

though I must insist on the entering into a war as a requisite, yet it is but a present and temporary expedient; for by our prodigious propensity to population, the havock of war is soon compensated. 'Tis said we lost near half a million of people in the last war, and yet behold we are overstocked again already.

Hence it appears absolutely necessary something should be done to impede this prodigious increase, for we cannot always be spilling human blood; and I imagine preventive methods will be found most eligible. Now, in order to check excessive population, I would propose an effectual, total, and immediate repeal of the *Marriage Act*. Many have been the execrations uttered against that act and the framers of it, as its having a tendency to prohibit marriage and prevent the population

lation of mankind; as also to engross all the wealth into a few families, and to beggar and enslave the generality, &c. &c. &c. but the persons who presume to object to that act, have nothing of the abilities and sagacity of those who framed it: that act was framed by a ministry not very popular, since the commonality of that time were Tories and the ministry Whigs. If such a ministry had enacted that people should not marry at all, who, that knows the disposition of mankind, does not see the consequence, and what business the parsons would have had? In fact, did not the passing that law as it was, prove an opportunity of many a clergyman almost making a fortune in a few months? How many happy couples are at this day jogging on in matrimony, who, but for that act, had never known each other? I grant, it
might

might possibly in time prevent some improper matches with unequal fortunes, as my lord H. intended; but then, for the present, it had quite a contrary effect, and produced more matches of that very kind in a few months, than otherwise would have happened in so many years. Nothing but such an act could have brought old lady —— and her groom together; nor Mr. —— and his maid Nanny; and a hundred more I could mention, who married not for love but party spite, and to avoid complying with that law; so that you see, my Lords, &c. thus far propogation was vastly promoted by the Marriage act. I cannot help being of opinion, the then sagacious ministry apprehended and also intended this consequence; they had just before been disappointed in the Jew bill, which certainl y tended

to

to an increase of people ; the failure of that might induce them to this bill, for that an encreased population was a consequence connected there ; which seems altogether plain, from their opening the Foundling hospital almost as soon as any children could be born, in consequence of the copulations occasioned by the forementioned act.

Again, it did not require all the sagacity the whole world ascribe to that ministry, to foresee that a severe war would soon fall out, on account of American and other affairs ; and therefore schemes for population were certainly at that time not unreasonable to provide a succession. Now no such schemes are requisite or previous to the war I have been proposing, because you will have it in your power to desist or continue such war as you please, having so lately conquered
France

France in America, and America in Germany.

But I am aware a precipitate reader may suggest, that though the marriage act might produce, as undoubtedly it did, an encrease of population at that time, yet, in the long run, rather the contrary must be the consequence of laying any restraint upon matrimony. Now, I imagine, it had a greater tendency afterwards than before, to the excessive encrease of population, and even still has so; wherefore it is *high* time to repeal it, and that in order to reduce our numbers and the price of provisions; for I believe all speculatists upon this subject will allow that polygamy, or any other mode of plurality of women to one man, will almost double population in any country. Now this has been a most evident consequence of the act in

in question; and the Christians have excited both Jews and Turks as to using of women since 1754. Before that era, a single woman had always the matrimony office by heart, to repel any mere amorous attack; but since the commencement of the act, concerning matrimony, no man has occasion to say a word about that matter, the law and the subject being disagreeable to both parties.

Perhaps some inexperienced reader may here wonder I have not yet mentioned colonizing, as a more effectual and more eligible method of reducing the number of people, when and where a difficulty of subsistence prevails, than either shooting the people or impeding their breed in a country so circumstanced; to which I cannot help observing, that it happens to be a year or two too late to mention that affair, i. e. to propose it seriously, since the terrible

inconvenience of colonizing Englishmen must be recent in every body's memory.

An alteration of climate entirely releases English people (though it does so by no other whatsoever) from all subjection to their mother country ; and our legislature has only a nominal, not an actual authority in America. Whether this authority vanished the moment the French were expelled from their borders, and all fear from that quarter was dissipated, or whether that was only thought a convenient opportunity of exerting a principal of independency, I cannot here undertake to determine ; but so it happened, that principle did then appear, and was pretty effectually brought into practice. The Americans have learnt from an eminent casuist on this side the water (not to understand indeed any more than the said casuist himself does,

but,

but,) to talk about the difference between legislation and power of taxation, between internal and external taxes, and between paying all manner of lawful duties and imposts on commodities, and paying any kind of duties affecting the transferring or conveyance of those commodities, though imposed by law; and have learned that parliamentary representation can extend but to such and such degrees of longitude, and authority of course terminates at the same point; with many other important maxims, distinctions without differences, and differences without distinctions, which they chuse to keep in ambiguity and uncertainty, that the subject and opposition may be kept alive and alert, and that arguments may always be had ready made to obviate any overtafts of the British senate, in consequence of the dependency act, &c. However, one happy consequence of

these circumstances is, that the colonies being thus for ever exempt from all taxation by the British parliament, or any encumbrances but what they chuse to undertake, they are doubtless enabled to prosecute their manufactures to greater advantage, and furnish foreign markets with various commodities much cheaper than Old England, under her weight of debt and taxes, possibly can; this will unavoidably sink the demand for British goods, that will sink their price, then sinks the value of lands, and consequently the price of all provisions; nay, though we commonly say, “while the grass grows the steed starves”, and in order to an immediate relief, I have proposed our going immediately to war; yet I doubt not the detaching America in the above mentioned manner from our taxation and legislation. &c. &c. will have great effects this way, even in
our

our own time, for which we are, in a great measure, indebted to the eloquence and patriotism of the great commoner.

But notwithstanding all this, I would not propose colonizing our people to shoot them, or stopping the breed, as before mentioned, because the two last methods are sure and expeditious, and we can keep them at a medium, whereas, we find colonies of Englishmen are under no actual controul, and they may carry the point too far, and reduce us rather more than we choose.

Thus, my Lords, do I flatter myself to have demonstrated two positions, which if carried into practice, will produce important benefits to the people, and to ourselves glory, honour, and popularity; which that you may enjoy in a most eminent degree, is the wish of

Your's, &c.

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